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tell him that the owner of a garden usually casts a spell on it so that anyone who enters it will be afflicted in this way.

Ghost lore is taught during childhood. The child is told that the spirits of the dead live on a mountain at the edge of the tribal territory, where they lead a topsy-turvy existence. They go by canoe on land and walk upon the water; they sleep by day and venture out at night. Often they assume the shape of a bird or beast. After dark they are attracted by whistling. They frequent a corpse, especially just after death. A child is warned that a ghost is dangerous, and is taught that it is the wish of ghosts to take his soul to the land of the dead. Close contact with them is therefore also dangerous,[11] and a child is told not to go near a burial platform. Sometimes ghosts appear in nightmares and struggle to take the soul of the dreamer. Sometimes they possess people and make them irresponsible for their actions. In these cases a child is taught to be aggressive toward the ghost. When a person is possessed or has a nightmare, those who are present at the time, children included, beat the air with sticks and shout curses and commands at the ghost in order to frighten him away.

A child is punished if he does not heed the warnings of his parents and older siblings. This holds in both the natural and the supernatural spheres. Since I did not know the culture, I was, in a sense, in the status of a child. One day when I was walking in the swamp with Kar and Gwiyap, they pointed out a water hole that was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. I poked my walking stick into it. Kar shouted at me to take it out, then told me very seriously of the danger of doing such a thing. Gwiyap joined in the scolding.

The following case illustrates strikingly the punishment of a child for not heeding a warning. When some of my shotgun shells spoiled, I cut off the shot and lit the powder, which went off with a puff and amused the natives. Kwos, one of the

[11] The belief that all death is due to sorcery is somewhat contradictory to this. The Kwoma are not very specific about the mechanism of death, but unless a person is sorcerized a ghost cannot succeed in taking the soul. Ghosts are nevertheless feared.

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882 839 [123] intimate relationship with my other informants. This, together with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could determine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse suspicion. The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark [995] operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161-162.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[22]

• [795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[769] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[22] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 187–8.

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually *fearful* person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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lets, when they hear this rhythm, rush to their own house tamberans and repeat the rhythm on their gongs. The *marsalai* must tremble, it is said, when he hears the thunderous command issuing successively from each house tamberan in each of the Kwoma subtribes. Doubtless he hastily shuts his mouth.

A Kwoma male must submit to the hazing of age-grade initiation even after he has reached adulthood. There are four occasions on which he attends this ceremony as an initiate, and, since it takes place only once every five years, there are normally three rites during adulthood when he must permit his *ceremonial father* to slash his tongue and penis. Thus it is not until a man is over thirty that he ceases to be an initiate. On each occasion he advances a degree in prestige and is permitted to wear a certain hair ornament that those of lower grades may not wear. Just as the newly initiated adolescent derogated the uninitiated children, so the adult derogates those in stages below him and struts about wearing his newly acquired headgear.

After a man has passed through the initiation cycle, he takes his turn as an initiator. He adopts a *ceremonial son* whom he sponsors through the cycle. Finally, at the age of fifty or more, after twenty years as an initiate and twenty years as an initiator, he attends the age-grade ceremonies merely as a spectator.

The attitude of an adult man toward ghosts differs little from that of a child. He still reacts to them with a mixture of aggression and avoidance. Kwoma men are quite loath to walk very far from their dwellings after dark, and if they do so they either carry a torch or wear a dagger made from a human thigh bone, both of which are supposed to frighten ghosts and make them keep their distance. In spite of these precautions, men not infrequently encounter what they believe to be ghosts. One evening I heard frightened shouting, then the patter of feet rushing by the house, and finally angry shouts and imprecations from the house tamberan. The next morning I learned that Kar and Marok had stayed late on a visit to another hamlet and had been forced to re-

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885 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they
• 775 heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the
787 same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents.
789 The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills,
757 most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by
752 sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result
754 from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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clay or mud, and give up some preferred article in their diet during the interval between the first and second funeral ceremonies. Whether a person makes such manifestations of sorrow depends more on how close a bond of friendship or dependence he has established with the deceased than upon formal kinship ties. 602 764 [765]

Beliefs about ghosts, as well as fear of sorcery and the feeling of bereavement, determine Kwoma death customs. It is thought that the ghosts of the relatives of the deceased come to escort his soul to the land of the dead. It is further believed that they are attracted by the corpse and hover near the body both while it is in the house and when it is on the funeral platform, and do not leave until the bleached bones are finally buried. If a Kwoma does not express sufficient sorrow for the death of a relative, the ghost of the deceased is likely to become angry and either frighten or possess the unappreciative man or woman. Thus those who are not motivated by personal feelings for the deceased may still mourn to avoid antagonizing his ghost. 775 • 765

A corpse is allowed to lie in the house until a burial platform is built. Early in the morning of the day following the death, the relatives erect near the house of the deceased a covered platform set on stilts about ten feet from the ground. When it is finished, the corpse is placed upon a wooden shield carried by several of the male relatives and lifted to the platform with the aid of a ladder. The body is then washed, and three of the spears of the deceased are placed across the neck, abdomen, and legs and lashed to the floor of the platform to prevent the corpse from falling. The points of the spears are broken so that they will not be stolen. These rites are performed by any old man who is willing to play the rôle of undertaker. All who have had contact with the body wash themselves immediately as a prophylactic against the sickness which they believe would otherwise result. 764

A corpse is allowed to stay on the burial platform for several months. During this time the relatives who have chosen to go into mourning continue to fast and to daub themselves with clay. At the end of this time a second funeral is held, 765

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121 86 or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn 121 869 their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

[M6] *Marsalai* are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to 869 be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible 776 for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about [862] these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker [823] on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to [821] go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle [796] into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these [778] monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

869 Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who 775 live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

121 775 182 764 [765] [781] 775 121 182 [789] [761]

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775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger ex-
pressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of so-
cial control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order
to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the pos-
sessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing.
In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the
proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman
for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed per-
son, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost
indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation
from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend
his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus,
exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a
means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence
of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and
can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to ex-
tinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
[202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at
which accusations are made and denied and evidence is pre-
sented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all
those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink
water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation
for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and
is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who
have no better theory of disease and no more effective meth-
ods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical
practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the sup-
posed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokri which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to men in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
[794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

528 543 lage kwoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 16, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Dew was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel papers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 January 17, 1937. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [475] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Yip's nerewboi came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

*115 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall.
123 Neither Owiyap nor Mey likes this. They said that ghosts would come.
• 775 I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Owiyap to come, but Owiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Owiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a"monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwan again to sign on boys. Owiyap
648 is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is
464 looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.

December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Owiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinawa. Owiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.

According to Owiyap /Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinawa and Way's wife know a little about it. /These are the only persons in Rumbina who can be possessed by spirits.

Ethnophysiology

826
827 The heart (mesuk) is the seat of life. It controls the breath which comes through the nose or the mouth. If a man's heart is injured, he dies. It is located where the ribs join the sternum in the little soft spot just under the breastbone. It is visible by day in the faint pulsating seen at this point. At night the mesuk moves up to the small depression just below the Adam's apple . It sleeps while the organism does. A person must not be awakened suddenly lest the mesuk have enough time to return to the daytime position. It is supposed to wake itself first; then the person opens his eyes. The mesuk is small in a child and proportionately larger as the man or woman grows. It is strong in a strong man and weak in a weak one. Birds, snakes, and other animals as well as ghosts also [825] [715] have mesuk.

Food goes in at the mouth, down the neck, and into the stomach where it stays for a while. At the time of defecation, it goes down the intestines and out the anus. Water goes directly to the bladder where it stops until time for urination, when it goes down and out the penis. Sperm is said to be produced in the bladder. The testicles are thought to have no function. Lungs are hung up on either side of the stomach but have no connection with the stomach.

Eyes have a small rope but it is not connected with anything. Neither are the holes in nose or ears connected with anything . The holes in the ears just stop.

The veins and arteries (nenawa) are to make the skin strong. They are unconnected and unrelated with the other vital organs. Blood is everywhere inside the skin. The kidneys are to make the back strong, as is the heart which is also for breath.

775 825 Spirit beliefs. Pigs, birds, dogs, opossum, mosquitoes, or anything that walks, flies and breathes, are believed to have ghosts (gamba); Gamba have hearts (masuk) the same as living man and animals, but in the dead the masuk is located in the throat as in a sleeping man. Here it keeps on beating.

Gamba go about in this way with all the organs of the human being, but do not eat food.

When a man is out hunting pig at night he may see a ghost. The gamba [763] are cowardly by nature. If they meet a strong man they run away; it is only people who are about to die who are surrounded by them. Men who die violently, as in an intertribal fight, see no gamba before they are killed.